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ADDRESS

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

To the Freemen and Voters of North Carolina:

The immense importance of the next Presidential Election, and the deep interest it has awakened, form our apology for this Address to the Freemen and Voters of North Carolina.

Collisions of opinion, which grow out of political controversies, are conducive in the end to the discovery of truth, and a frank investigation of the measures of our government ought never to be discouraged. But every sober minded man unites in the sentiment that now a days there is too much passion and too little reason; too much Party and too little regard for Principle in the discussion of public measures; and that in examining the characters of our public officers, there is a fearful disregard of Truth and Justice.

True, the line between a fearless exposure of crime, and a prejudiced attempt to pervert the acts of a public servant, may not always be easy to discover; but then it is certain that few of the enemies of Mr. VAN BUREN seem to be as watchful to observe it as they are industrious to conceal it from others.

Great efforts are made to impress the public mind with the false opinion that our prosperity is decaying, and that a firm but judicious exercise of their authority by the Constitutional Agents of the People is despotic. These things ought not to be so. There is no Nation where all the solid blessings of life are more enjoyed than they are in the United States; and there never was one in which they are secured to the great body of the people by such slender sacrifices. The administration of the Government has been conducted by Mr. VAN BUREN, we believe, with as pure intentions, and certainly with as respectful a consideration for the opinions and feelings of others, as ever actuated the Chief Magistrate of any country; and it is alike unjust to him and injurious to the people, to denounce the President for faults he has not been guilty of, and to depreciate the condition of our country below the high rank it proudly occupies. Why should a People be roused into hatred against the constituted authorities of the land, or taught an habitual distrust of the Government they have formed, except there be some wish to reconcile them to its overthrow? Let those who entertain no such treason against our government, beware of encouraging this detestable habit, and let the men of talents and character in the opposition rise above the level of such as are mere tools of Faction, and cultivate a higher and nobler aim than barely to render odious those who are possessed of power in the government, in order that they may be dispossessed and others may vault into their vacant seats!

Has Mr. VAN BUREN been treacherous to the pledges and the principles upon which he was elevated to his present high station?—Let his dishonesty be proved by presenting the Facts to our understanding! Are the measures of his administration unwise or unconstitutional? Let it be shown by an appeal to our reason! Do his opponents propose measures which are better for the Republic? Let them be pointed out and recommended to our judgments! Do his enemies hold doctrines that are more congenial to the Rights of the People? Let them declare such sentiments plainly and unreservedly, and leave an intelligent community to decide! Does the President hide his opinions and shun the open enunciation of his political princi[illegible]? Let his enemies shew this, by exhibiting [illegible] calls upon him for an expression of his [illegible]ments, with his refusal to answer then. If those who are resisting the election of the President a second term, are not willing to meet his friends upon grounds like these, then they have no right to complain when the clamors by which so many are endeavoring to alarm the public mind, are repudiated as the mere ravings of disappointed ambition or the mutterings of a factious spirit; whose

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influence depends upon creating political discord, and who would sink into insignificance in a time of perfect tranquillity.

The Republican party, the friends of the administration, believe that the President is entitled to public confidence; and relying upon the intelligence of the People, we fearlessly invite an examination into the facts. If these do not establish the claims of Mr. VAN BUREN to the support of the People, they have the sense to see it and the right to turn him out of office. If these do not fix a reproach upon his enemies who have been most active in defaming his administration, then are we greatly deceived in their character.

CHAPTER I.

Abolition—the Banks, and the Independent Treasury.

In November, 1836, Mr. VAN BUREN was elected President. In March, 1837, he took possession of that high station, in accordance with the Constitution and the will of a majority; and in his Inaugural Address he openly rebuked the fanatical spirit of *Abolition*, by a clear declaration of his undisguised hostility to it. As before his election he had pledged himself inflexibly to resist this Demon of discord, so did he now renew that vow before the Nation and the World, and give assurance to the people that he would VETO any Bill which might be passed on the subject! He heeded not the violent ravings of the Fanatics, and bent only upon doing *Right*, he also overlooked the unmerited distrust of a *Southern Opposition.*

Was he not faithful and wise and patriotic in this?

In less than three months after his administration begun, and before he had done a single act which by the remotest possibility could have had any injurious effect upon the Banks, those of them in which the public treasure was deposited, from one end of the Union to the other, stopped payment, and by one concerted act betrayed the Nation's trust. Whig-Banks and Bank-Whigs forthwith united in a common cause of hostility to the administration. These "Pets of the Government" were no sooner guilty of this dishonesty, than they became favorites of the Opposition, and they have carried on a joint warfare against the administration ever since. No little embarrassment was experienced in executing the laws, after all the money of the Nation had been seized by the keepers of it; and in September, 1837, the President convened Congress to advise and to provide by law for the relief of the people and their government.—In compliance with the mandate of the Constitution, he is bound to give Congress "information of the state of the Union and *recommend* to their consideration such measures as he shall *judge necessary and expedient.*" [Article 2. Section 3.] He had no right to be silent, even if he had desired to shrink from his duty.

The connexion between Banks and the Government having been dissolved by the faithlessness of the Banks, the President "judged it necessary and expedient" to have nothing more to do with them: *To divorce Bank and State*: To separate the *Banks* and *Politics*: To let the Banks alone, and to put no more of the public money into their hands; and believing this, he met the responsibility of his office and "RECOMMENDED" it accordingly. THIS IS THE INDEPENDENT TREASURY!

Did the President force or endeavor improperly to force this measure upon the Nation? On the contrary, the same message which first recommended it also urged it upon Congress to suggest some plan for keeping and disbursing the public money that was better than this, if in their wisdom any such a one could be devised; and he also distinctly promised to give to *their* will his most hearty co-operation. There being a majority in the House of Representatives who were hostile to the administration, they rejected the INDEPENDENT TREASURY, but proposed no substitute in its stead.

Is there any fault in the President here?

Again: The same Representatives of the People met in Congress in December, 1837. It was the same Congress at another session. Did the President attack their right of independent judgment or exhibit in any form the insolence of Office? On the contrary, he calmly reviewed the objections that Banks and partizans had urged against the INDEPENDENT TREASURY, and pointed at the daring impudence with which the Banks had arrayed themselves against the country; and seeing no alternative but absolute submission to the irresponsible control of associated wealth, or the adoption of some system which like the Independent Treasury would make it the interest of the Banks to be honest and let politics alone, he was compelled, by his oath, his patriotism and his station, to *renew*

his *recommendation!* He did it and the House of Representatives refused their assent to it! Mr. Van Buren did not stop here.—He entreated your Representatives, at all events, to agree upon some law prescribing severer punishments against public agents who should steal the public money, and to declare it a *Felony* in any officer to loan or use the *public* money for *private* speculations. The same House of Representatives refused their assent to this also.

He deprecated to Congress the allowance of any large discretion in the Executive over the public purse. He pointed out to your Representatives how the dishonesty of the Banks had in effect suspended the existing laws for regulating the *Treasury of the Union*, and earnestly invoked the aid of this the Law-making power to pass some Bill which would take the purse out of Executive discretion and put it, where it should be, under the guardianship of LAW, and if they did not concur in the measures he "judged expedient and necessary," then to devise some better one for the permanent relief of the People and their Government. His words we do not profess to repeat, but only the substance of his recommendations.

Now what more could *HE* do? These reasonable "recommendations" of our President passed in the Senate, but they were rejected in the other branch of Congress; and finally *nothing at all was done.* A long Session of seven months or more was consumed in forming new parties; starting candidates for President, and in violent invectives against our Rulers; but no act was passed, and we do not recollect that the opposition in the House of Representatives ever seriously *proposed* any measure instead of this Independent Treasury and the others which they had rejected. Now what less could any Congress have done for the good of the Nation? Was it patriotic to leave the country without necessary laws, of some sort, for keeping the public money and guarding it against any dishonest use of it? Let the People answer for themselves! Let the immense defaults of *Swartwout* and *Price*, after this neglect by Congress, aid them in determining the question how far it was proper to declare such offences *Felonies* and punish them accordingly.

Again: The same Congress met in December, 1838; which, however, expired by law on 4th March, 1839, to give place to the present Congress, more "fresh from the people."

The President never recommended this measure to any Congress which had been *elected to oppose it.* A very large proportion of that Congress which preceded the present one, was chosen by the people before the Bank explosion of 1837, and before the President recommended the INDEPENDENT TREASURY at all. He "*believed*," in the language of the Constitution, that this measure was "*expedient and necessary.*" His experience and sagacity supplied no other that the Constitution sanctioned. The wisdom of Congress, although THRICE assembled, suggested none; but at the very first election of Representatives to another Congress the People have sanctioned this *recommendation* of the President. He stood firm and unmoved when timid counsellors shrank and treacherous Democrats forsook the People's standard, under the combined pressure of Party clamors and Bank panics. "In this alone has the President offended."

To overturn the Administration and sustain the Banks, elections have been fraudulently conducted; and iniquitous means resorted to by State functionaries to counteract the public voice. But in vain; the present Congress, which is the first and only one elected since the Independent Treasury was proposed, is a fair exponent of the popular will upon that subject, and a *majority* are in favor of Mr. Van Buren's recommendation. It has passed in the Senate and will pass in the House of Representatives, in obedience to the WILL of the PEOPLE, and against the resistance of EIGHT HUNDRED BANKS.

What a triumph to Democracy! What a reproof to the treachery of venal politicians! What a rebuke to the insolence of Party!—What an evidence of virtue in our President! What splendid proof of the integrity of the People, and of their capacity for self-government! Had this conflict terminated against the Administration, it would have been a triumph of the Banks over the Government of the United States!! If servility to party and cowardly apprehensions of "hard times" had finally defeated the REPUBLICANS in this contest, we solemnly believe it would have changed our Government, for all practical purposes, from a *Government of* MEN to a *Despotism of* MONEY.

This is no empty declamation. The unprejudiced exercise of his common sense, will

enable any one to see that if the Banking powers of this country can bring the voters and Government to submit to their doctrines —"that the Banks are to stop payment at "pleasure, and the LAWS dare not enforce o- "bedience to their charter obligations, for fear "of *ruin* to the people, and that our Free "Government cannot be conducted without "the aid of a *Bank*"—then the republican institutions of America will be virtually overturned, and the capacity of the people to govern themselves practically denied by others and substantially acquiesced in by themselves.

Who is prepared for this? Such principles once put into practice and matured by time, who is to subvert them hereafter, and by what power can they be reversed? We are far from asserting that all those who have been hostile to the Administration were deliberately planning an overthrow of popular liberty; but where this is the consequence of their party operations, what matters it to the people if those who destroy their rights had no evil *intentions*. We speak of public dangers proceeding from the *acts* of politicians, and have nothing to do with the personal motives of our opponents.

In this hasty but faithful sketch, you have a history of the most prominent measures of the Administration, and of the warfare that has been waged against the President. You see in it how he has been misrepresented, and how his opponents have factiously resisted all his efforts to carry on the Government—*opposing* every thing and *proposing* nothing. You see in it the fearless stand Mr. VAN BUREN has taken in defence of the Constitution, and the self-sacrificing zeal with which he has maintained it, against the combinations of associated wealth and inordinate party-spirit. For himself, it had been easier to betray his trust! For his country, how glorious that he did not! Had Mr. VAN BUREN been in error, the honesty of his purpose might vindicate his personal reputation.—But he was *right*, and the "second sober thought of the people" has sustained him; and generous Republicans every where, owe it to him and to themselves to shew their confidence, not merely by a cold approval of his acts, but by their hearty acclamations!

CHAPTER II.

Public Expenditures.

But the enemies of Mr. Van Buren, seeing that the Independent Treasury must soon pass, in spite of all their disorderly resistance in the past and present Congress, and anticipating how a short experience will falsify their clamors against it, have lately lowered the tone of their denunciations in respect to the Independent Treasury, and are laboring to excite opposition, and to hide their party's intentions to fix upon this country an irreversible Bank dynasty, by their cries for *retrenchment* and *reform* in the *Expenses* of the Government. Have they proposed any bills to decrease the number or the salaries of officers? One fact is worth a hundred professions! We believe that there has been but one measure of the kind, viz: to diminish the salary of the *Commissioner of Pensions*.—It passed by the aid of *Democratic votes*, and the *President* had no hesitation in *approving* it. But no sooner was this done, than these economical statesmen of the Opposition became dissatisfied with their work, and have been endeavoring to *undo* it ever since.—Having discovered, to their chagrin, that the Commissioner of Pensions was a *Harrison-Whig!!* their views of the matter of economy are altogether changed!!! Have they spent their own time at Congress in *voting* or in *talking*? Have they not wasted the public money by voting "*fat jobs*" to one Printer sufficient to enable him to *let out the work* to another, and pocket TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS for his share of profits? Have they not altogether neglected the appropriate duties of legislation, and converted the House of Representatives into a great theatre for President-making and unmaking? The falsehood and unfairness which have characterized their discussions upon the subject of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURES have been so lately exposed by the "*facts* and *figures*" of Mr. Benton's speech, that very little need be added to them. We cannot too earnestly commend that able and conclusive speech to the real people of North Carolina. Let Democrats read it for their defence; and let any unprejudiced opponent of the Administration peruse it, if he dares to give Truth fair play.

We are in no sense the advocates for extravagance. All Administrations have been, and always will be, imposed upon by some of their officers. It is the lot of human nature, and the best if not the only preservative against the Government of a people being extravagant is to *lessen* the *Taxes*. The legislators always have spent, and they always

will spend the money, if the people consent to let it be collected from their *pockets* and put into a public *Treasury*. The present Administration and its supporters generally, have constantly advocated this doctrine, and have, therefore, resisted any increase of the *Tariff* or *Taxes*. These tariff-taxes have been gradually reducing under the "Compromise Act," ever since Mr. Van Buren came into office; and it is the policy of his friends to *keep these taxes down*. That Act expires soon, and the next Administration will be charged with the responsible duty of *revising the Tariff*. This Administration is committed—pledged to the policy of *keeping down these Taxes*. It dare not and it cannot abandon that position! How far, therefore, it will be prudent in us to change it for one whose policy is to withhold from the public eye any of Gen. Harrison's present views on this and other great subjects, we leave for you to determine; only repeating that *economy* will never be practically secured as long as the people are *taxed* more than is necessary for a cheap administration of their Government. *If money is paid into the Treasury members of Congress will be sure to spend it!*

But why all this clamor against Mr. Van Buren about the expenditures of the Government? Is it his fault that the appropriations are extravagant? By no means. Can the President make laws either to expend or to save our money? The Constitution answers, *NO.* Can he take a dollar out of the Treasury, except what the Acts of *Congress* command him to expend? The Constitution answers, *NO.* Can he refuse to apply the public money which is appropriated by Congress to such purposes as the LAW itself requires, whether he approves the object or not?—The Constitution again answers, *HE CANNOT.* The President, therefore, has no legislative powers, and, of course, no control over the public money and the expenditures of the Government, *except these: First*—Before a law is passed he may *recommend it* to the consideration of Congress. *Second*—After a bill is passed by Congress he may *VETO* it. Now if Mr. Van Buren has failed to exercise these his only constitutional powers, or either of them, in a proper manner, and thereby has permitted any extravagance which he might have prevented, it is admitted that to that extent he merits censure. *How are the facts? First*—His recommendations beforehand! Look at his messages to Congress for these. See there how earnestly and constantly he has pressed it upon Congress to be *more economical*. Nay, has he not been reproved by a member of the House, in a public speech, for going too far? Were not his opponents disposed to censure him for his exceeding anxiety to prevent extravagant appropriations? Did not some of them denounce him as a trespasser upon the rights of Congress? *Second*—His VETO.—The President cannot rightfully veto any bill which barely appropriates money to carry into effect a law already in force. This would be exerting the tyrant's power of *suspending laws*, not the constitutional power of *veto* upon a bill. Again: If Congress passes a bill providing the means necessary to carry on the operations of the Government, although it may contain numerous items of unpardonable extravagance, *which by themselves* ought to be *vetoed*, yet the President cannot veto them, because he has no power to *veto a part of the bill without the whole!* He cannot veto the *extravagant items* and approve of the rest. He must *veto* ALL or *approve* of ALL! If he does the first, the wheels of government will be stopped. If to avoid this he adopts the other alternative, these extravagant appropriations are effected in spite of him. Now after this fair exposition of the President's powers, his bitterest opponents are challenged to point out a *single instance where a Money-Bill has passed during Mr. Van Buren's administration that he could have vetoed and where he has not done so.* If there has been any such official delinquency in the President it is on the RECORD, and we demand of his accusers to shew it! *But they cannot do it!*

CHAPTER III.

Harrison's pretensions—Nominations—Secret Committee—Log Cabin—Hard Cider, &c.

If Mr. VAN BUREN's merits were even less than his friends suppose, there is so much in the course and character of the opposition for a prudent people to resist and condemn, that these might of themselves force us into a support of this Administration, and to vote for the re-election of the President. Guided by the secret counsels of an irresponsible "Executive Committee" the party, which heretofore abused the CAUCUS-System, have adopted the evil they once affected to abhor and

have fearfully enlarged upon its practice.—*The old caucus plan*, upon which the Republican Members of Congress used to nominate a Candidate for President, was one by which they all met openly together, to select the individual they preferred, and then they laid his PRINCIPLES *before the people*, as well as his NAME. But now this is substituted by a private association of MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, who lay before the People the NAME of their leader, but hide from the public eye the PRINCIPLES of their Candidate for the Presidency.

A party who had heretofore deprecated the election of a MILITARY CHIEFTAIN, as a greater evil to the United States, than "WAR, PESTILENCE and FAMINE," are now banded with others to place into the Presidential chair a Candidate, whose chief merit lies in the fact that he has been a GENERAL; and it is not the least remarkable amongst all the incidents of this extraordinary tergiversation, that a PROPOSER OF THE HARTFORD CONVENTION is one of their Central "Executive Committee!!"

A party who had pretended to acquiesce in the public will against the United States Bank, have now united their strength to the Banks, and their advocates and dependants, to force the country into creating another NATIONAL BANK; and the consciences of such of them as had *scruples* upon the "*Constitutional question*" have so far yielded to the potent charms of a pretended "NECESSITY" for violating the Constitution, as at all events not to *hinder* the schemes of its assailants.

A party, who, in our State had been most hostile to *Abolition*, in so much, that they saw in it the greatest danger, and with whom, a short while ago, it was *Treason to the South*, to be even cautious, much more to be timid in our action against abolitionists; a party who practised towards all others a commendable jealousy, and in some cases an intolerant distrust about *Abolition*; even they have become "time serving partizans," and actually united with the FANATICS upon the same candidate for President, who is too selfish to reject the support of the *Abolitionists* and too cowardly to embrace it openly.

A party whose leaders had presumptuously lectured the spirit of American Democracy, as if it were a turbulent demon of disorder, and saw in every warning against the encroachments of "associated wealth" and every allusion to the "*Rights* of the *MANY*," signs of evil times and attacks upon the good *order* of society and *permanency* of *government*, are now, in fact, resorting to all the arts of *demagogues* for alarming the public mind and persuading the people (*these same Democrats*,) that their rulers are corrupt and their Government is oppressive.

And the "*Proprietors of Millions*," and "*Lords of Palaces*," backed by *Senators* and others, have become suddenly cured of all their apprehensions about "arraying one class of society against another:" "The *Poor* against the *Rich*," and in their awkward attempts to play upon the sympathies of the *poor man*, are disgusting the intelligent, and insulting the humbler voters of North Carolina, by offering them "a LOG CABIN AND HARD CIDER CANDIDATE," who shewed his earlier and more disinterested friendship for *LOG CABIN* tenants by approving of laws which denied to a free-man his right of SUFFRAGE, unless he had a FREEHOLD WORTH ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, and who evidenced his love for "POOR FOLKS," by supporting laws to SELL them for FINES, and to WHIP them besides for leaving their MASTER'S service!!

Fellow Citizens:—This is a faithful miniature of the Harrison party, and in it, we but present a picture that is familiar to the reading portion of the community. We repeat therefore that the objections to Mr. VAN BUREN ought to be exceedingly strong before the people of North Carolina venture to trust the party opposed to him. But some of our accusations will be denied and some of them have been denied already.

The usual limits of an address like this will not permit us to go fully, *at this time*, into all the grounds of accusation against them; but we shall not therefore omit to expose enough to justify their condemnation before an intelligent REPUBLICAN tribunal.

The facts upon which we rely, shall be fairly stated; and whether the inferences we draw from them are correct, we cherfully submit to the common sense of the people.

CHAPTER IV.

Battle of the Thames—Gen. Harrison—Col. Johnson.

We have no motive to detract from the just claims of General Harrison to all the laurels he may have won in the Army of the United States. We are glad that his old age, (for

he is now nearly 70 years of age) should be cheered by the admiring plaudits, *even of those who believed it was unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice at the success of American arms!* We shall not stop to cavil at the obstreperous boasting and loud hozannahs which *party* spirit is now able to excite, when for a quarter of a century after General Harrison's battles were fought, they who clamored loudest in his praise, raised no shouts for the HERO!

But we do not, therefore, fail to notice, and we call upon the people to observe that these party-patriots have hardly ceased to utter the meanest reproaches that party spirit could invent against *Col. Richard M. Johnson*, the real HERO OF THE THAMES, before they are crying out to the people against DISHONORING THEIR DEFENDERS! Col. Johnson's friends read no written *certificates* to bolster his claims to military renown. He bears them about his person in his *broken bones* and *mangled flesh!* They are the certificates which the foes of his country furnished him, to bring back home from the campaign! The tomahawk of the Savage, and the sabres and shot of the enemy gave him a dozen scars, to bear with him to the people of the United States, as unerring certificates that *he went out to meet the invaders of our land.* And a long life of public service was about to be crowned in 1836 with the office of Vice President at the hands of a grateful *people*, when an enemy more subtle if not more savage than the Indian foes he vanquished, first wooed him to betray his party, and to become a candidate for the Presidency on the side of his political enemies; and this overture failing, they at once pursued his *private* fame, because he would not be a traitor for their sake; forgetful of his age; regardless of his wounds; heedless of our reproof; insensible to the wounded pride of the *old soldier* and "*one of the best men in the world*," with relentless cruelty, they ridiculed and caricatured the sins of his youth, and magnified every weakness of his nature into a crime, until his political supporters were divided upon the expediency of supporting him, and *Col. Johnson* was chosen Vice President—but not by a majority of the PEOPLE! And these defamers of Col. Johnson are now members of the *Heroite party* of 1840!

These are the politicians who now exclaim to the people "*Defend your Defenders!*" They rob *Col. Johnson* of his blood bought laurels to decorate the brow of Gen. *Harrison*, and whilst they give the latter more praise than he ever merited, contemptuously stigmatise the former as they traduced a *Jefferson* and a *Jackson*. Such is not the gratitude of the People of our country. It is the violence of faction and the injustice of party.

CHAPTER V.

A National Bank, &c.

We have said that the Harrison party are in favor of a *National Bank;* and this is denied also; but with what propriety let these facts answer.

Fact 1. The Harrison candidate for Governor of N. C., is now openly in favor of a Bank. The Central Committee of that party are all believed to be in favor of it. The subordinate agents in our State of the central "Executive Committee" at Washington, as far as they have been ascertained, are advocates for a National Bank, and so are all the leading presses of their party; and if *General Harrison* himself be opposed to it, he does not venture to let it be known.

Fact 2. This party have heretofore supported the United States Bank, and have no where pledged themselves as a party, to pursue a different course hereafter.

Fact 3. They have nominated General Harrison as their candidate, and Mr. CLAY, who openly proposed from the Senate Hall, the creation of a *Fifty Million Bank*, has "*cheerfully*" surrendered his own pretensions to the presidency and "*Goes* for *Harrison!*" Does he think the party is against a *Bank*, such as he has pronounced indispensable to the nation's welfare?

Fact 4. MR. WEBSTER, another of the opposition favorites, resigned his pretensions to their support, in order to produce harmony in the *Harrison party.* Does any one doubt about his opinions? Will it be supposed that he too has sacrificed to party expediency that necessary "*Regulator of the Currency*" which he has said the Constitution alike permits and *requires* Congress to establish in some form?

Fact 5. At no public Convention or other meeting of the Harrison party in North Carolina certainly, and so far as we have heard at none in any other State have the Opposition resolved that a National Bank is either *unconstitutional or inexpedient*. If, therefore, they are against a Bank, this con-

cealment of their opinions is unaccountable! If they are for it, as we suppose, there is less difficulty in discovering the motive for their silence!

Fact 6. In the public speeches of their leaders, throughout the United States, delivered in our State Legislatures and elsewhere, they have denounced General *Jackson's* measures in respect to the U. States Bank, and *falsely ascribed to them and to the overthrow of that Bank* all the evils of "hard times and low prices." The Bank interest and Bank power of the country, led on by the old United States Bank, made the measures of our government a *pretext* for Bank oppression and an excuse for Bank dishonesty, and have cried out for another *National Bank as the only medicine for our disease;* and the opposition or Harrison party, have generally concurred in their *censures* and co-operated in every effort to give success to their *schemes;* and it is therefore absurd in any of them to pretend that they are not really in favor of the Bank.

Fact 7. As a party, they never once united in reproving the misconduct of the United States Bank! Do what it might the Bank was never wrong; or at all events, its acts were excusable. *But their Government was never right!*

Instances of this are too recent to have escaped the public mind; and, therefore we do not repeat them. Yet there is one of them so apposite to illustrate their present clamors, that it may not be amiss to recur to it:

The Bank of the United States demanded *specie* of the local Banks by an Edict of the Bank Directors in payment of their notes taken for the public revenue!	The Government proposes to require *specie* (which will come from the same Banks) by a law of Congress for the same public revenues!
This was right!	This is wrong!

From these Facts, and others like them, we have inferred that the Opposition party are in favor of a *National Bank*, and that the *Harrison party* is in fact the *Bank party;* and when men of character and sense hazard a denial of it, is it not calculated to excite some emotions of surprise? Such a denial, in the face of such facts, and in contradiction to what is daily occurring before the public eye, cannot command our confidence. It is opposed to common sense and common experience, and this attempt at deception is in itself enough to awaken public vigilance.—The Harrison party not in favor of a National Bank? What then is Gen. Harrison for? What else are the Harrison party for? They oppose the *Independent Treasury!* They oppose the *State Bank* system; and if they are also hostile to a *National Bank*, let them "remove the mask" and tell the people plainly what they are in favor of!

To those who regard a National Bank as the means of strengthening their PARTY, and on that account only are endeavoring to re-establish it, it is useless to address any language of reasonable remonstrance. Such men are partisans of the worst sort; pledged to one side—country or no country—and blindly wedded to an Idol. Those reflecting and sober-minded men of all parties, who have had no selfish motives for it, and yet on former occasions have inclined to a National Bank, will not refuse to listen to a few calm considerations which it seems to us ought now to decide this question *finally.*

To you, then, fellow-citizens, we address the inquiry: Why was it that any of you supported a re-charter of the old Bank in 1832? Was it not because you were ignorant of its concealed misdeeds which were afterwards disclosed, and because you thought the CHANGE would break up the current of business, and produce confusion and a distress for money? Is it not so?

The majority have decided the other way. The voice of the People, and the lawful authority of the Government, have put down the National Bank; there has been a factious resistance, ever since, against establishing any substitute for its agency in the Government; that resistance is now overcome, and the *Independent Treasury* will soon be in operation. This delay has been injurious to business, because it kept things *unsettled;* that cause being removed, and *every one* becoming *satisfied about what is to be* the policy of the country, there will be not much difficulty hereafter. Now apply to this state of things those principles of action upon which *heretofore* you inclined to a Bank, and see if it is wise or prudent to *reverse the position of the country?* Shall we be always *doing* and *undoing?* Is nothing to be settled? If it create derangement in business and pressure o pass from *Bank* to *Independent Treasury*, must not the same consequences follow in passing back from *Independent Treasury* to *Bank?* Should this be done *now?* Shall

the nation be distracted three years by the discussions of a public measure, and as soon as it is passed, and before there has been any time afforded to test, by experience, the excellencies of the new system, shall the people be desired to repudiate it? Judge for yourselves.

Again: A National Bank might be made, and in some respects it was a convenient agent of the Government; still every body knows that it is also capable of becoming a TREMENDOUS EVIL. It is said by some to be a *necessary evil;* but if the Independent Treasury should answer the valuable and desirable ends which its patriotic friends have believed it will do, surely no patriot is so sold to a *National Bank*, that he is unwilling to see his country benefitted in any other way! All that the Administration asks is that the Independent Treasury may have a FAIR CHANCE. It is not possible for it to do any great mischief; for in ability to do evil, it is to the United States Bank as a *babe* to a *Giant!* We remember that many of you supported the United States Bank, and not a few do so yet, because they think it will *control all our local Banks;* and when it is insisted that this may be done by the *Independent Treasury and the laws*, the reply has been that the *Government* is powerless to do it without a *National Bank!* Now what is this but a concession that the *Bank* is more potent than the people's *Government?* Is it safe to re-establish *any power* in our country that is stronger than its *creator?*—Is it wise in us to do it until, after a fair trial, the Independent Treasury has failed to answer a good purpose? Is it not certain that the creation of a National Bank by the strength of a *party*, will at once put that party into power under *Bank auspices*, and that a Party-Bank and Bank-Party will be cemented into dangerous union; corrupt each other and the Government, and greatly oppress the People!

Again: Is there a farmer—a mechanic—a republican—a Freeman indeed, of any class, who would give his assent to the creation of a *PERPETUAL* Bank of the U. States? Yet it is undeniable that a Bank established *upon the ground of indispensable necessity*, will be *perpetual.* For if the necessity for it exists now, so must it exist in future. If its discontinuance now has been *oppressive*, it will hereafter be *ruinous.* If it can *extort* a charter now, when the Administration is opposed to it, and if the people were to turn out their Democratic rulers to put in a Bank Administration, the Bank may hereafter prescribe its own terms, and nominate at pleasure the rulers of a Free People.

CHAPTER VI.

The Concealment of the Opposition.

And are we guilty of appealing to any jealousies unworthy of honest freemen, when we denounce the *concealments* which are attempted to be practised towards the people, by party leaders and party candidates and their confidential committees, and proclaim our own just apprehensions that they cover up a design to create a *National Bank* under Party auspices, and to restore and perpetuate the power of a *party* under Bank auspices, whom the people have more than once discarded, and with one of whose ancient leaders it was a favorite notion that the *strength of the Government is in its* CORRUPTIONS? Fellow-citizens, do you not see in this "*policy*" to keep from the "public eye" even the declarations of a party leader, and to force him into power *unpledged*, that there must be some extraordinary motive for it; and without troubling ourselves with any particular investigation into all the probable causes for it, is it unreasonable or uncharitable to infer that they have intentions *which they deem the People incompetent to decide upon or too honest to be trusted with knowing!*

CHAPTER VII.

Harrison's inhumanity to the Poor.

We have intimated that Gen. Harrison has sanctioned laws of an inhuman character towards *poor people.* We have no disposition to add unnecessarily to the angry feelings of indignant Freemen, by a comparison of Gen. *Harrison's* past *acts* with the present *arts* of his party to enlist the poor to his support.—"Those, however, who sow the wind must expect to reap the whirlwind"!

Here are the FACTS, the RECORDED FACTS, on this subject.

Extract from the Journals of the Ohio Senate, 30th January, 1821:

"The Senate met pursuant to adjournment.

"The Senate then, according to the order "of the day, resolved itself into a Committee "of the Whole upon 'the bill from the House "entitled An Act for the punishment of cer-"tain offences, therein named,' and after some "time spent therein, the Speaker, Allen Trim-"ble, resumed the chair.

"Mr. Fithian then moved to strike out the "eighteenth section of said bill, as follows:

"*Be it further enacted*, That when any "person shall be imprisoned either upon exe- "cution or otherwise, for the non-payment of "a fine or costs, or both, it shall be lawful for "the Sheriff of the county to SELL OUT "SUCH PERSON AS A SERVANT, to any "person within this State, who will pay the "whole amount due, for the shortest period "of service, of which sale public notice shall "be given at least ten days, and upon such "sale being effected, the Sheriff shall give the "purchaser a certificate thereof, and deliver "over the prisoner to him, from which time "the relation between such purchaser and the "prisoner shall be that of MASTER AND "SERVANT, until the time of service ex- "pires; and for injuries done by either, rem- "edy shall be had in the same manner, as is, "or may be provided by law in the case of "master and apprentice. But nothing herein "contained shall be construed to prevent per- "sons being discharged from imprisonment "according to the provision of the 37th sec- "tion of the act to which this is supplementa- "ry, if it shall be considered expedient to grant "such discharge. Provided that the court, "in pronouncing upon any person convicted "under this act, or the act to which this is "supplementary, may direct such person or "persons to be detained in prison until the "fine be paid, or the person or persons other- "wise disposed of agreeably to the provisions "of this act."

"And the yeas and nays being required, "those who voted in the affirmative were, "Messrs. Beasly, Brown, Fithian, Gass, Heat- "on, Jennings, Lucas, Mathews, M'Laughlin, "M'Milton, Newcom, Robb, Russell, Stone, "Scofield, Shelby, Spencer, Swearington, "Thomson, and Womeldorf—20.

"And those who voted in the negative "were, Messrs. Baldwin, Cole, Foos, Foster, "WILLIAM H. HARRISON, M'Lean, Os- "wall, Pollock, Ruggles, Roberts, Wheeler, "and Speaker—12."

Here is an act which General Harrison approved whilst he was Governor of the Territory of Indiana, extracted from the Revised Code of that Territory 1807:

SEC. 30. When any person or persons shall, on conviction of any crime or breach of the penal law, be sentenced to pay *a fine or fines, with or without the costs or prosecution*, it shall and may be lawful for the court before whom such conviction shall be had, to order the sheriff to SELL or hire the persons so convicted, to service to any person or persons who will pay the said fine and costs for such term of time as the court will think reasonable.

And if such person or persons, so sentenced and hired or sold, shall abscond from the service of his or her master or mistress, before the term of such service shall be expired, he or she so absconding, shall on conviction before a justice of the peace, be WHIPPED with *thirty-nine stripes!* and shall moreover serve two days for every one so lost.

SEC. 31. The Judges of the several courts of record in this territory shall give this act in charge to the Grand Jury, at each and every court in which a grand jury shall be sworn.

JESSE B. THOMAS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
B. CHAMBERS,
President of the Council.
Approved—September 17th, 1807.
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Here is another extract from the same source:

"It is therefore enacted, That every free male inhabitant of the age of 21 years, resident in the Territory, and who hath been a citizen of any State in the Union, or who has been two years resident in this Territory, and *holds a freehold in fifty acres of land* within any county of the same, or any less quantity in the county in which he shall reside, which, with the improvements made thereon, shall be of the value of *one hundred dollars*, or who has paid for, and in virtue of a deed of conveyance for further assurances from a person vested with the fee, is in actual possession of fifty acres of land subject to taxation in the county in which he shall be resident, shall be, and are hereby declared to be duly qualified electors of representatives for the counties in which they are respectively resident. * * * *

JESSE B. THOMAS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
B. CHAMBERS,
President of the Council.
Approved—September 17th, 1807.
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

And here is an extract from the *Ordinance* establishing the North Western Territory, which shews that *without his assent* these laws could not have been in force:

"And all bills having passed by a majority of "the House, and by a majority of the Council, shall "be referred to the Governor, for his assent, but no "bill or legislative act whatever, shall be of any "force without his assent."

His veto was absolute. No law could pass without his "assent," though every member of the House of Representatives, and the Council, might desire it most ardently.

Mark! General Harrison voted in Ohio, againgt STRIKING OUT!

Fellow-citizens: On the subject of these laws to sell white *Men* and *Women* for *fines* and *costs* you will suffer us to draw your at-

tention to a few of the monstrous results which might follow; and we point them out to you as some foretaste of what we may look for when *aristocrats* shall turn *demagogues*, and force all their "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" measures upon the free Men and WOMEN of this nation.

Two men are indicted for *fighting*. Each one is fined fifty dollars. The one is able to pay it, and the other is not, and therefore he is "imprisoned for the fine," and the Sheriff may sell the latter to a "master." He that is *poor* has to be sold. He that is richer does not. Now is he sold for his CRIME or sold for his POVERTY? For the crime both are *fined*. But the poor man is *sold* because he cannot pay. He is sold for the "*non-payment of the fine, &c.*," and not for the *fight!*

Take it, however, as Gen. Harrison's advocates would have it to be: Suppose it be true that he is sold for his *offence* against the laws. Does it mend the matter? Two men fight—the one who is able to pay is *fined* for fighting, the other who is *poor* is put in *prison* and SOLD for the very same offence!! Is this any better?

But it has been said that the Ohio law was a "*humane*" *!!!* substitute for *whipping?*—Gen. Harrison intimated this as a part of his defence for that odious vote. And what becomes of the "humanity" in the *Indiana* Act?

A poor man's daughter is sold—sold to the highest bidder—no matter who—so he is a *bidder*. She absconds from this cruel servitude! She seeks the home of her mother!—On conviction before a Justice of the Peace, SHE shall be *whipped*—she SHALL be *whipped*—she shall be WHIPPED thirty-nine stripes, says this Indiana Code!

This is the law. This is the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" heretofore provided for the "dear POOR FOLKS." What they are to expect hereafter from their new friends it is "policy" to keep concealed from the "public eye," but we have fearlessly endeavored to show some of it in this address.

"STRIPES" and a "MASTER" without the privilege of "voting," it must be confessed are pretty hard measures, and unless the "log cabin" voters of North Carolina have changed their proud natures and subdued the spirit of '76 which their sires transmitted to them, they will show their new admirers and teachers that our poor people stand easy under no *stripes* but those of our *blessed Union;* that they recognise no "*masters*" in their "log cabins" but *themselves;* and that as they *vote* without freeholds upon their *rights as men*, so they will exercise that privilege in defence of their PRINCIPLES and their LIBERTY, and not at the dictation of the *Banks* or their *candidates*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Vice Presidency.

In remarking upon the course of the Harrison party, we have spoken of the Vice President, Col. JOHNSON. It is proper to explain that we neither desire nor intend by it to indicate any position for the Republicans to assume on the choice of North Carolina's Candidate for the Vice Presidency. It is not our privilege to do it, nor have we any wish to usurp it. Whether Col. Johnson is a candidate or not, our allusion to him is a just and proper exposition of the inconsistency of the Harrison party. The Baltimore Convention of the Republican party, in May last, adopted the following Resolution:

And whereas several of the States, which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the Presidency, have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for the office of Vice President, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to the nomination; and whereas some of the said States are not represented in this Convention; and as all the individuals so nominated have filled the various public trusts confided to them, ably and faithfully, and have thereby secured for themselves the confidence of their Republican fellow-citizens; therefore,

Resolved, That the Convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place, their opinions shall become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice President by the electoral colleges.

You see in this, at once, their act and their motives for it. There is no concealment; In compliance with the general call for it, a State Convention is expected to assemble in Raleigh on the 9th of July, to decide upon the course which it becomes us to pursue in the choice of a Vice President. The enemies of our principles will do what they can to make discord upon this subject, but we are sure they will be disappointed. The spirit of Republicanism is roused in our State, and the people are every where alive to the contest. North Caaolina has no favorites for Vice President, and would cheerfully support any one of the distinguished men who have been spoken of for that office; and to her the reputation of each and all of them is

dear, not for their sake, but for the principles they hold. Her voice is for harmony and for an election by the Electoral Colleges, and not by the Senate. How these objects are most likely to be accomplished, will be determined by her Convention, and our course will be indicated by the Convention itself, after an open and free interchange of views.

CHAPTER IX.

Governor.

The Election for President and Vice President in November will be preceded by the choice of a Governor of North Carolina in August. ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS is the candidate of the Republican party. To overthrow this administration and substitute for the Republican principles upon which it is conducted, another administration and different principles, the Harrison party will unite to a man upon *Mr. Morehead* for their Governor. Personal considerations with them are overlooked, and we must do the same thing. *State* policy is merged in the great contest, and for a season we are compelled to follow the example. Every thing will be forgotten by the other side, to pave the way for a final triumph of a Party which declines to make open professions for the "public eye," and much must be sacrificed by Republicans, even if much were required of us, to maintain the rightful authority of Law against "associated wealth" and all its political allies. But Democrats will have no need for making sacrifices to support *Romulus M. Saunders* for Governor. He is an able defender of the Republican cause. He is an experienced and upright Statesman. His head and his heart are both with the People. In his hands our State administration will be Republican from habit and from principle. When he presided as a Judge, and *party* had no motive to traduce him, he was lauded and honored by those who assail him now. Many of you have seen him and most of you know him; and even his enemies have been constrained to yield a reluctant admission that he possesses talents of a high order. In obedience to the call of his Republican friends, he has resigned his Judicial station to be a candidate for Governor, and if the Democrats of North Carolina are as active in their exertions as we know them to be faithful to the principles of "a WELL REGULATED LIBERTY," he can and he will succeed.

There is no occasion for exciting the People to action. They are roused already, and our task is finished. Farmers of North Carolina! This cause is yours: *Go to the Polls* and uphold it! This Government is the People's. *Go to the POLLS* and support it! And though it may stir up afresh those affected horrors which heretofore have been shewn off by our opponents; and political deceivers may yet continue to practise the "policy" of concealing it from the "public eye," if they can, it is nevertheless TRUE—true *now* as it has been *heretofore*—that the great issue is one between "The *People* and the *Bank!*"

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